

6

THE ELECTOR'S
POLITICAL CATECHISM.

COMPILED AND ADAPTED BY
RICHARD JOHN WICKSTEED



OTTAWA:
Printed by the Citizen Printing and Publishing Company, 31 Metcalfe Street.

1885.

6
THE ELECTOR'S

POLITICAL CATECHISM.

COMPILED AND ADAPTED BY

RICHARD JOHN WICKSTEED.



OTTAWA:

Printed by the Citizen Printing and Publishing Company, 31 Metcalfe Street.

1885.

THE ELECTORS

POLITICAL CATECHISM.

COMPILED AND ADAPTED BY

RICHARD JOHN WICKSTEED



OTTAWA:

Printed by the Union Printing and Publishing Company, 31 Metcalfe Street.

1882

PREFACE.

A perverted and excessive action of party spirit and self interest is equally vicious, either in members of Parliament or electors. Men should not go into parliament to vote for their own interests and the interests of their order or party in a spirit which, if accurately examined, amounts to corruption. The elector and legislator should act as pure-mindedly as the judge; and considering the weighty interests confided to his keeping, he ought equally to resist the slightest tendency to improper bias. Yet so established has become the habit of admitting improper bias that it is recognized as a matter of course, and by the consequent re-action between party and party, it is considered almost unavoidable on one side in order to counteract and check the dishonest influences exerted by the opposing party. This is very sad. I believe it is unnecessary. I feel sure, not only that it would be possible, but that it ought not to be very difficult to elevate our elector and legislator to the judge standard, and to bring about the recognition of the principle that a vote at the polls or in parliament, influenced by undue considerations is as much an act of immorality as a corrupt decision by a judge.

What I deprecate must have its cause in the ignorance of the great mass of the electors as to the constitution of Canada, and their duties and responsibilities as citizens, and the non-recognition by them of those qualities in candidates which alone render a man fit or worthy to serve in parliament, the local legislatures, corporation councils, and, in fact, any representative body.

The production of this pamphlet is the outcome of a sincere desire to be of service to my fellow-countrymen in giving useful information on those points, on which they may not be well informed.

My object is to be useful; I believe that the position I have taken is unassailable from its truth, and hope to be credited with having spoken this truth in love. If it touches any conscience, "let the galled jade wince." If no one feels that my philippic applies to himself, "why then my taxing like a wild goose flies, unclaimed by any man."

As to the correctness of the answers in this Political Catechism, my authorities are to be found in the Appendix to it, and I can only repeat what I wrote in my work on *The Canadian Militia*, published in 1875: "We cannot claim even the merit of originality in these pages of ours; many of the thoughts have suggested themselves to others, and have been expressed by other pens; we have but acted the part of the cabinet-maker, who, selecting the various woods to produce the best effect in a determined end, works up, dovetails and polishes the blocks he starts with."

R. J. WICKSTEED.

OTTAWA, 29th January, 1885.

OTTAWA, 20th January 1882.

R. J. WILKINSON.

With
to the correctness of the answers in this Political Life from my numerous
are to be found in the Appendix to it, and I can only repeat what I wrote in my
work on *Mr. Wilkieson's History*, published in 1875: "We cannot claim as an
most of originality in these pages of ours; many of the thoughts have suggested
themselves to others, and have been expressed by others; but we have tried to
part of the cabinet-maker, who, selecting the various words to express the doc-
trines in a disconnected and worse up, down, and to rights, and politics the blocks in stone
with."

As to the correctness of the answers in this Political Life from my numerous
are to be found in the Appendix to it, and I can only repeat what I wrote in my
work on *Mr. Wilkieson's History*, published in 1875: "We cannot claim as an
most of originality in these pages of ours; many of the thoughts have suggested
themselves to others, and have been expressed by others; but we have tried to
part of the cabinet-maker, who, selecting the various words to express the doc-
trines in a disconnected and worse up, down, and to rights, and politics the blocks in stone
with."

My object is to be useful. I believe that the position I have taken is unassailable
from the truth, and I to be credited with having spoken the truth in fact. It is
touches any conscience, "in the cold face of the world." If no one feels that my
philippic applies to himself, why then my saying like a wild goose that is not
for a man."

As to the correctness of the answers in this Political Life from my numerous
are to be found in the Appendix to it, and I can only repeat what I wrote in my
work on *Mr. Wilkieson's History*, published in 1875: "We cannot claim as an
most of originality in these pages of ours; many of the thoughts have suggested
themselves to others, and have been expressed by others; but we have tried to
part of the cabinet-maker, who, selecting the various words to express the doc-
trines in a disconnected and worse up, down, and to rights, and politics the blocks in stone
with."

As to the correctness of the answers in this Political Life from my numerous
are to be found in the Appendix to it, and I can only repeat what I wrote in my
work on *Mr. Wilkieson's History*, published in 1875: "We cannot claim as an
most of originality in these pages of ours; many of the thoughts have suggested
themselves to others, and have been expressed by others; but we have tried to
part of the cabinet-maker, who, selecting the various words to express the doc-
trines in a disconnected and worse up, down, and to rights, and politics the blocks in stone
with."

THE ELECTOR'S

POLITICAL CATECHISM.

QUESTION. What is your name and state of life ?

ANSWER. I am A. B., an elector of the Dominion of Canada, a colony of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and a subject of Her Britannic Majesty

Q. What privileges do you enjoy by being an elector of Canada ?

A. By being an elector of Canada, I am a greater man in my civil capacity than the greatest subject of an arbitrary prince; because I am governed by laws to which I give my consent,—and my life, liberty or goods cannot be taken from me but according to these laws. I am a freeman.

Q. Who gave you this liberty ?

A. No man gave it me. Liberty is the natural right of every human creature; he is born to the exercise of it as soon as he has attained to that of his reason. But that my liberty is preserved to me, when lost to a great part of mankind, is owing, under God, to the wisdom and valour of my ancestors.

Q. Wherein does this liberty, which you enjoy, consist ?

A. In laws made by the consent of the people, and the due execution of those laws. I am free not from the law but by the law.

Q. Will you stand fast in this liberty, whereunto you are born and entitled by the laws of your country ?

A. Yes; I will. And I am thankful that I am born a member of a community governed by laws and not by arbitrary power.

Q. What do you think is incumbent upon you to secure this blessing to yourself and posterity ?

A. As I am an elector I think it incumbent upon me to believe aright concerning the fundamental constitution of the governments to which I am subject; to write, speak and act on all occasions conformably to this belief; to oppose, with all the powers of my body and mind, such as are enemies of our good constitution, together with all their secret and open abettors; and to be obedient to the Queen of England, the Supreme Magistrate of this Dominion.

Q. As you are living in Ontario, one of the Provinces composing the Dominion of Canada, to what laws are you subject ?

A. While I am a citizen of the Province of Ontario, and subject to the laws enacted by the Provincial Legislature, I am at the same time a citizen of the Dominion of Canada, and bound to obey the laws made by the Central or Federal Parliament.

Q. Do you know how the legislative powers are distributed between the Central Parliament or the Parliament of Canada, and the Local or Provincial Legislature of Ontario ?

A. The exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to all questions of the public debt or property; all regulations with regard to trade or commerce, customs or excise; the raising of revenue by any mode or system of taxation; all provisions as to currency, coinage, banking, postal arrangements, and generally to all matters which affect or relate to the welfare and good government of the Dominion, and the enactment of criminal law. The subjects reserved to the Provincial Legislatures are all of a subordinate and sectional character, such as the sale and management of the public lands; the control of hospitals and asylums, charitable and municipal institutions, and the raising of money by direct taxation for provincial use. There is also a concurrent power of legislation exercised by the Federal Parliament and the Provincial Legislature. It extends over three separate subjects, namely: immigration, agriculture and public works.

Q. Can you describe to me the constitution of the Parliament of Canada, and that of the Legislature of Ontario ?

A. All the Federal Legislative powers granted under the Imperial British North America Acts of 1867 and 1871, and "The Parliament of Canada Act, 1875" are vested in one Parliament for Canada, consisting of the Queen, an Upper House styled the Senate, and the House of Commons. The Provincial Legislative power, so far as I am concerned, resides in the Legislature for Ontario, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor, and of one House, styled the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

Q. Rehearse the articles of your political creed, as a citizen of Canada ?

A. I believe that the supreme or legislative power of this Dominion, in the subject matters over which it has jurisdiction, resides in the Queen, the Senate and the Commons; that Her Majesty Queen Victoria, is Sovereign or Supreme Executor of the law, to whom, upon that account, all loyalty is due; that each of the three branches of the Legislature is endowed with its particular rights and offices; that the Queen, by her royal prerogative, has the power of determining the time and place of meeting of Parliaments; that the consent of the Queen—that is, of the Governor-General, acting on behalf and in the name of Her Majesty,—the Senate and the Commons is necessary to the enactment of a law, and that all the three make but one law-giver:—that as to the freedom of consent in the making of laws, these three powers are independent; and that each and all the three are bound to observe the laws that are made.

Q. Rehearse the articles of your political creed as a citizen of Ontario ?

A. I believe that the Legislature of the Province of Ontario may exclusively make laws in matters coming within the classes of subjects which I have before enumerated, and which are specially assigned to its jurisdiction. The Legislature for Ontario consists of a Lieutenant-Governor and of one House, called the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. The Lieutenant-Governor is

appointed by, and holds office during the pleasure of the Governor-General subject to the provisions of the Constitutional Act. As regards its rights, privileges, and duties the Legislature of Ontario, within its limited sphere of action, resembles the Parliament of Canada.

Q. Why is the legislative power supreme ?

A. Because what gives law to all must be supreme.

Q. What do you mean by loyalty to the Queen ?

A. I have heard that *loy* or *loi* signifies law, and loyalty, obedience according to law. Therefore, he who pays this obedience is a loyal subject; and he who executes the Queen's commands when contrary to law, is disloyal and a traitor.

Q. Is it not in the law that the Queen, or the Governor-General, as her representative, can do no wrong ?

A. It is; but since the Governor does not act immediately by himself, but mediately by his officers and inferior magistrates, the wisdom of the law provides sufficiently against any undue exercise of his power by charging all illegal acts, and all kinds of mal-administration upon his ministers, laying him under an indisputable obligation not to screen his ministers from public justice or public enquiry. The function of advising the Governor in the government of the Dominion is now discharged, as to all important matters of state, by a select portion of the Privy Council called the Cabinet Council, who, after being sworn in as Privy Councillors, receive their appointment to the principal offices of state as being leading members of the political party having the majority in the House of Commons. This Cabinet Council, or Ministry, practically administers the Government, and the Ministers become responsible for its measures, resigning their office if the Governor does not follow their advice, or if their political party ceases to be in the majority in the House of Commons. In this way is the responsibility brought home to the executive department, and harmony of action established between the executive and legislative branches of the Government, and in this way the House of Commons is able to exercise a control over all the departments of the executive administration.

Q. What do you mean by the Royal prerogative ?

A. A discretionary power in the Queen, or her representative, to act for the good of the people where the laws are silent ; never contrary to law and always subject to the limitations of law.

Q. Is not then the Queen above the law ?

A. By no means ; for the intention of government being the security of the lives, liberties and properties of the members of the community, they never can be supposed, by the law of nature, to give an arbitrary power over their persons and estates. The Queen can have no power but what is given her by law ; even the supreme or legislative power is bound, by the rules of equity, to govern by laws enacted and published in due form ;—for what is not so authorized is arbitrary.

Q. How comes it that those who endeavour to destroy the authority and independence of any of the branches of the legislature, attempt to subvert the constitution ?

A. By the fundamental laws of our constitution, the free and impartial consent of each of the three branches is necessary to the being of a law ; therefore, if the consent of any of the three is wilfully omitted, or obtained by terror or corruption, the constitution is violated ; as instead of three there would then be really and effectually but one branch of the legislature.

Q. Can you give me an instance where the form of government was kept and yet the constitution destroyed ?

A. Yes. The forms of the free government of Rome were preserved under the arbitrary government of the Emperors. There was a Senate, Consuls and Tribunes of the people,—as one might say Queen, Lords and Commons ; and yet the government under the Emperors was always despotic, and often tyrannical ; and the worst of all governments is tyranny sanctified by the appearance of law.

Q. By what means fell that great people into this state of slavery ?

A. By faction, corruption and standing armies.

Q. What do you learn from history ?

A. That a Sovereign of this realm, in the full possession of the affection of his people, is greater than any arbitrary Prince ; and that the British nation or the Colonies can never be effectually undone but by a wicked parliament ; and lastly to be thankful to God, that, under our Most Gracious Queen, our constitution is preserved entire, though, at the same time, there are many circumstances which call loudly for vigilance.

Q. What are those ?

A. Such as have been the forerunners and causes of the loss of liberty in other countries : namely, decay of virtue and public spirit, luxury and extravagance in expenditure, venality and corruption in private and public affairs.

Q. How may there be a decay of public spirit when there is a more than usual desire to serve the public ?

87 A. If a desire to live upon the public be public spirit there is enough of it at a time when private extravagance makes people crave more, and the administration of an increased and increasing public revenue enables the Government to give more.

Q. What do you fear from this ?

A. That such as serve the Ministry for reward may in time sacrifice the interest of their country to their wants ; that greediness of public money may produce a slavish complaisance as long as the Crown can pay, and mutiny when it cannot ; and, in general, that motives of self-interest will prove an improper and weak foundation for our duty to our Queen and country.

Q. What would you do for your country ?

A. I would die to procure its prosperity, and I would rather that my children were cut off than that they should be slaves ; but as Providence at present requires none of these sacrifices, I content myself to discharge the ordinary duties of my station, and to exhort my neighbours to do the same.

Q. What are the duties of your station ?

A. To endeavour, so far as I am able, to preserve the public tranquillity, and, as I am an elector, to give my vote for the candidate whom I judge most worthy to serve his country, for, if from any partial motive I should give my vote for one unworthy, I should think myself justly chargeable with his guilt.

Q. You have perhaps but one vote in two thousand, and the member perhaps one of two hundred more—then your share of the guilt is but small ?

A. As he who assists at a murder is guilty of murder, so he who acts the lowest part in the enslaving of his country is guilty of a much greater crime than murder.

Q. Is enslaving one's country a greater crime than murder ?

A. Yes; inasmuch as the murder of human nature is a greater crime than the murder of a human creature, or as he who debases and renders miserable the mass of mankind is more wicked than he who cuts off an individual.

Q. Does not the tranquillity occasioned by absolute monarchy make a country thrive ?

A. Peace and plenty are not the genuine fruits of absolute monarchy, for absolute monarchies are more subject to convulsions than free governments, and slavery turns fruitful plains into a desert; whereas liberty, like the dew from heaven, fructifies the barren mountains. Therefore I should reckon myself guilty of the greatest crime human nature is capable of if I were in any way accessory to the enslaving of my country. Though I have but one vote, many units make a number; and if every elector should reason after the same manner—that he has but one vote—what must become of the whole ? A law of great consequence, and the election of the member who votes for that law, may be both carried by one vote. Great and important services for the liberties of their country have been done by individual men.

Q. Is it not lawful, then, to take a bribe from a person otherwise worthy to serve his country ?

A. No more than for a judge to take a bribe for a righteous sentence ; nor is it any more lawful to corrupt, than to commit evil that good may come of it. Corruption converts a good action into wickedness. Bribery of all sorts is contrary to the law of God ; it is a heinous sin, often punished with the severest judgments ; and is, besides, the greatest folly and madness.

Q. How is it contrary to the law of God ?

A. The law of God says expressly "Thou shalt not wrest judgment ; thou shalt not take a gift." If it is a sin in a judge, it is much more in a law-giver, or an elector ; because the mischiefs occasioned by the first reach only to individuals ; those occasioned by the latter may affect whole nations, and even generations to come. The Psalmist, describing the wicked, says, "His right hand is full of bribes." The Prophet, describing the righteous, tells us, "He shaketh his hands from holding a bribe." Samuel, justifying his innocence, appeals to the people, "Of whose hands have I taken a bribe ?" Then, as to Divine vengeance, holy Job tells us, "That God shall destroy the tabernacle of bribery." Therefore, he that taketh a bribe, may justly expect what is threatened in holy writ, "He shall not prosper in his way, neither shall his substance continue ; his silver and gold shall not be able to deliver him in the day of the wrath of the Lord."

Q. What do you think of those who are bribed by gluttony and drunkenness ?

A. That they are viler than Esau, who sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage.

Q. Why is my taking a bribe at an election folly or madness ?

A. Because I must refund ten-fold in taxes what I take as a bribe, and the member who bought me has a fair pretext to sell me ; nor can I in such a case have any just cause for complaint.

Q. What will you say, then, to the candidate who offers you a bribe ?

A. I will say, "Thy money perish with thee. As thou art now purchasing thy seat in parliament, I have just reason to suspect thou resolvest to sell thy vote. What thou offerest and what thou promisest may be the price of the liberties of my country. I will not only reject thy bribe with disdain, but will vote against thee."

Q. Is not the justice of the supreme magistrate or his prime minister sufficient security for the liberty of the people ?

A. The people ought to have more security for all that is valuable in the world, than the will of a mortal and fallible man. Much has been said, and much has been written about patriotic rulers and patriotic ministers, but that is all patriotic nonsense. It is the principles of the constitution, the constant exercise of their elective powers, and those only, that must make the inhabitants of this colony free and happy. It is their business as electors, it is their business as the people in general, to watch over and take care that the principles of our constitution be not evaded by any power in the State. If they will not do this they must perish ; for they will never find any patriotic administration that will do it for them. It is not the desire of any administration to have a sharp-eyed House of Commons to overlook them. They had much rather manage a House of Commons than be managed by one. The Governor-General summons persons to the Senate ; and so the last and best security for the liberties of the people is a House of Commons, genuine and independent.

Q. What do you mean by a genuine House of Commons ?

A. One that is the lawful issue of the people and no bastard.

Q. How is a bastard House of Commons produced ?

A. When the people by terror, corruption or other indirect means, choose such as they would not otherwise choose ; or when such as are fairly chosen are not returned,

Q. How may a House of Commons become dependent ?

A. When the freedom of voting is destroyed by threatenings, promises, punishments and rewards ; by the open force of the Government, or the insults of the populace ; but above all by private influence ; for they who have the power of the Crown, have many ways of gratifying such as are subservient to their designs, and many ways of oppressing such as oppose them, and may do both within the bounds of the law.

Q. Can a Queen have a more faithful Council than a House of Commons, which speaks the sense of the people ?

A. None ; for they will not only give her impartial counsel, but will powerfully and cheerfully assist her to execute what they advise.

Q. What are the qualities that render a person unfit and unworthy to serve in Parliament ?

A. The representatives of a nation ought to consist of the most wise, wealthy, sober and courageous of the people ; not men of mean spirit, little figure, and sordid passions, that would sell the interests of the people that chose them, to advance their own, or be at the beck of some great men, in hopes of preferment to a good employ. Those that have fair estates, have, in a manner, given hostages to their country, and must be errant fools, before they can play the knave with us. The needy passenger regards not the ship's perishing, if he can save himself in the long boat, or gain advantage by the wreck. Shall we place within the walls of the House of Commons, men who were better secured within the walls of a common gaol, who can never pay their debts contracted by their prodigality, but out of our purses ; and must run us into debt, to free themselves from their own mortgages ? For all such persons (though some of them may be looked upon as honest men and good house-keepers) are in danger of being tempted to repair the decay of their own private fortunes at the cost of the public. Moreover, the choosing of such broken fortunes, decays trade, and ruins whole families ; if beggars ever come to be the people's representatives, how can

they judge what it is expedient for the nation to spare, whose only care is to get money to spend?

We are not fond of receiving bribes and gratifications from persons who would make a prey of us, and by their purses, lavish treats, and entertainments, would allure us to prostitute our voices for their election; we may be assured they would never bid so high for our suffrages, but that they know where to have a return of what they spend with high interest. We will choose the worthy unwilling person, before the complimentary unworthy man, whose extraordinary forwardness indicates that he seeks not our good, but his own, separate from that of the public. Let us not play the tool or knave, to neglect or betray the common interest of our country, by a base election; let neither fear, flattery nor gain bias us. Let us consider with ourselves what losers we will be, if though we laugh and are merry one day, the person we choose, should give us and our children occasion to mourn for ever after. Let no one say he is but a single person—that one man cannot do much hurt. Silly man! What if the electors in all other places should be as bad as ourselves? Then the whole House would be of a piece; and besides, is it not well known that sometimes a single vote has carried a measure, which perhaps was no less mischievous than irretrievable?

Make not our public choice the recompense of private favours; it is not pleasing a neighbour, because rich and powerful, but saving of Canada that we are to regard. Neither pay or return private obligations at the cost of the nation. Sir Blank Blank is a pretty gentleman and treats people civilly; and my landlord is a good gentleman and has been kind; and Such-a-one is the nearest Justice of the Peace—but yet I will not vote contrary to my conscience, or have any hand in a choice that may ruin my country, to gratify any or all of them. None must take it ill that we use our freedom about that, an institution which is the great bulwark of our liberties.

We should take care of ambitious men and non-residents, such as live most about the town, and not in the country. These seek honors and preferment, and seldom enrich or are of any service to the country by their expenditure or hospitality. They

are too much for themselves to act vigorously for the advantage of their country ; or, if in Parliament they do sometimes act as patriots, it is only that the party in power may notice them, and take them off by some preferment.

c/ Elect not any spendthrift or profligate person, for besides that such are not conscientious enough for legislators, they are commonly idle, and though possibly they may wish well to your interest, yet they will rather neglect it than their pleasures ; they will scarce leave one of their nightly revellings, to give you their attendance and service next day, and therefore they are not to be relied upon. To borrow the words of a post-classic author : " Some senators are drawn from their duties by pleasure ; perhaps a party at tennis, bowls, cards, a comedy, a good fellow, a pack of dogs, a cock-fighting or a horse match. And while they are thus employed, the vigilant faction steals a vote that is worth a kingdom. Some again are so transported with the vanity of dress and language, that rather than serve the public with one hair amiss, or with one broken period, they will let the public perish—*mallent rempublicam turbare quam capillos*. These while their country lies at stake, are arranging the heads, polishing the phrase, and shaping the parts of a set speech, till it is too late to use it. Sloth and neglect are yet more dangerous in senators, in regard of surprises from the opposite faction ; these think a wet day, or a cold morning a sufficient discharge from attendance, and while they are taking t'other nap, or t'other bottle, the monarch perhaps has lost his crown, or the subject his liberty."

Q. Hitherto you have spoken in negatives, and described such as are not fit to be chosen as Members of Parliament ; will you now describe those who are fit for a trust of so great importance ?

A. We must take care to choose such as are well known to be men of good principles, friends to religion, and of sufficient resolution and spirit to support it with their lives and fortunes.

We must endeavour to choose men of wisdom and courage, who will not be hector'd out of the performance of their duties by the frowns and scowls of men.

We must make it our business to choose such as are resolved to stand by and maintain the powers and privileges of Parliament, together with the power and just rights of the sovereign, according to the laws of the lands, so that the one may not encroach upon the other. And such as with a becoming courage will prosecute all traitors, and remove all corrupt and arbitrary ministers of state and wicked judges.

We should take particular notice of those who are promoters of industry and improvement; for such as labor to increase the growth and advantage of the country, will be very tender of yielding to anything that may weaken or impoverish it.

Q. In short what are the marks of a person, worthy to serve his country in Parliament?

A. The marks of a good ruler given in scripture will serve for a Member of Parliament—"such as rule over you shall be men of truth, hating covetousness; they shall not take a gift; they shall not be afraid of the face of a man." Therefore I conclude, that the marks of a good Member of Parliament are, independent means, integrity, courage, the being well affected to the constitution, having a knowledge of the state of the country, the being frugal of the money, careful of the prosperity, and zealous for the liberties of the people; constant to the interest of the country in perilous times, and assiduous in attendance.

Q. Who is most likely to take a bribe?

A. He who offers one.

Q. Who is likely to be frugal of the people's money?

A. He who puts none of it in his own pocket.

Q. You seem to be averse from choosing such as accept places and gratuities from the crown. What is your reason for this?

A. I am far from thinking that a man may not serve his Queen and his country at the same time. Nay, their true interests are inseparable. But my landlord's agent may be a very honest man; yet if I had any affairs to settle with my landlord, I would choose my neighbor for referee rather than my landlord's agent.

Q. Is a writ of election to the House of Commons like a summons to the Senate—where the crown nominates?

A. No. The crown is never to meddle in an election.

Q. Why is assiduous attendance so necessary in a member?

A. Because a member of Parliament is entrusted with the lives, liberties and properties of the people, which have often been endangered by the non-attendance of members; because if my representative do not attend, I may have a law imposed upon me to which I had no opportunity of refusing my assent.

Q. What advantages do you propose from your resolving to promote the public tranquility?

A. All the advantages resulting from political society depend upon the public tranquility.

Q. Why should you bear with good temper and calmness, the defeat of your candidate for parliamentary honors?

A. There was a time when parliament was the chief arena and instrument of power, when it was necessary to sit there in order to assist to carry measures, or to support or oppose a policy. It is scarcely so now, it has become rather a court where the decrees of the country are registered and reduced to shape, than where they are originated and concocted. It reflects and ventilates the conceptions and the desires and volitions of the people at large; it never creates them, it seldom guides or controls them; it only partially and occasionally modifies them in giving them effect.

It seems to me to be of primary importance that we should always bear in mind that the election of a representative is, after all, only one among the many political functions of the citizen in a free state. Apart from and above this duty, there lies upon

him the obligation, which he can never cast off, to advance what he thinks the truth and the right by all those means of influencing his fellow-men which are more or less within the reach of all, and of which the growth of education every year augments the potency. Though he may fail to secure a representative in the legislature, these other duties will remain to him; and no principle or argument shall receive my countenance which would tend to remove from my mind a sense of responsibility, constant, pressing, and unevadable, for the use of my own powers and influence, within my own sphere, for the promotion of the public good.

Q. Prove that it is only by the aid of religion the state can attain its lower object—self-preservation and the protection of person and property; and its higher object—the moral and intellectual progress of the community?

A. Even with regard to its lower object, self-preservation, the state cannot avoid aiming at the moral and religious education of the people. The infliction of punishment requires in some cases the co-operation and in all the acquiescence of the people, and cannot be effective except when it is supported by some popular sympathy. Hence the state, in order to give effect to its punishments, must desire a corresponding moral education of the minds of its subjects. Again, the state must necessarily have a right of requiring from its citizens oaths of testimony, oaths of office, and the like, as a means of securing agreement between men's obligations and their duties, without which government would not be possible. But oaths cannot produce their effect if men's minds be not religiously educated. The state, therefore, must desire the religious education of its citizens. Again, the state, in prohibiting offences against person and property, aims at producing not only quiet, but security. It seeks not only to prevent battery and robbery, which may, in particular cases, be effected by mere force, but, also, to make men feel secure that they shall not be beaten or robbed, which can only be done by making the citizens in general peaceable and honest, instead of being quarrelsome and rapacious. Even in this

part of its office, therefore, the state aims at a moral education of its citizens. And thus, even while it looks to its lower objects—the mere existence of law, judicial process, and individual security—the state cannot avoid aiming at or requiring the moral and religious education of its subjects.

But the state has higher duties than the mere protection of person and property. The existence of laws concerning marriage, for example, necessarily supposes that the state not only desires the continuance and comfort of its population, but aims also at the encouragement of chastity and virtue. Such laws are lessons as well as laws. And with regard to the higher object of men's actions—their moral and intellectual culture, (including in this, their religious culture also), many modes of conducting this culture and gratifying the moral, intellectual and religious sympathies, are such as naturally draw men into associations, which exercise a great sway over their actions. In some respects, the convictions and feeling which bind together such associations may be said to exercise the supreme sway over men's actions; for so far as men do act, their actions are, in the long run, determined by their conviction of what is right on moral and religious grounds; and a government which is wrong on such grounds, will be destroyed, if its subjects are free to act. And though men may, for a long time, be subjugated by a government which they think contrary to morality and religion, this condition of things cannot be looked upon as one in which the state attains its objects. The state, the supreme authority, must have on its side the convictions and feelings which exercise the supreme sway. It must, therefore, have on its side the convictions and feelings which unite men in associations for moral, intellectual and religious purposes. If this be not so, the state has objects in which it fails, and which are higher than those in which it succeeds; and a portion of its sovereignty passes from it into the hands of those who wield the authority of moral, intellectual and religious associations. It must, then, be an object of the state so to direct the education of its subjects that men's moral, intellectual and religious convictions may be on its side; and that moral, intellectual and religious

associations may be subordinate to its sovereignty. Besides which, the Government, if it be conducted by intelligent, moral and religious men, will itself desire the intellectual, moral and religious progress of the community, and will wish to educate the people in such a manner that this progress may constantly go on. The state and the religious bodies have now long been separated, and exist in distinct forms, with different powers in various hands. We can no longer, even if it were desirable, expect to see an identification of church and state. The two powers are now distinct; and we must now consider not how they may again become one, but in what manner, and under what conditions they can best combine their influence. The state, as the state, cannot completely educate the people; this can only be done by calling on the church to assist.

The morality of all civilized nations, such as it is, has sprung out of the teaching of the church. If the state destroy, or even ignore the church, and determinedly dissociate itself from it, we have no guarantee for the continuance of that moral influence on which most of the peace and well-being of society depends. I do not mean, of course, that civil non-recognition would annihilate, or even materially weaken the church, but I think there is no doubt at all that it would very materially damage the state and make its tenure precarious. There is no other widely accepted moral code ready to replace christianity, therefore a statesman must take that as his working hypothesis.

Q. What is the relation [of the clergy of the church to politics?

A. To disabuse the minds of men as to the rights and the powers of parliament, to make them see that immutable laws of morality and social science cannot be set aside by the chance-medley voting of a legislative assembly; to teach that it is not in crude, intricate and intolerably multiplied statutes that national regeneration must be sought, but in the inculcation of self-sacrifice instead of selfish promotion of class interests, and in the moral regulation of the springs of human action; to urge the need of extreme simplification of our political system

instead of ever fresh complication of it ; these are some of the lessons the clergy ought to inculcate. What they have to do is not to swell the ranks of party, but to mitigate the evils of party. The clergy cannot, and ought not to enter into the sphere of mere party politics, but should address themselves to national and social politics instead. As there are great evils to be redressed, great abuses to be reformed, they must appear as *Progressive Liberals*; but as the reforms can be achieved only by a return to first principles, they must show themselves *Conservatives* in the truest sense by adducing and enforcing those principles, primæval and immutable, but buried under the light, shifting opinions of the day, like megalithic Egyptian statues beneath the sands. Their work is at once high and wide ; It is to inculcate political principles which spring naturally out of christian morality, out of that christianity which, as Sir Edward Coke said long ago, is part of the common law of England.



APPENDIX.

Those seeking further knowledge on the subjects introduced in the foregoing Catechism, are directed to the following books:—

AMOS, on the English Constitution, page 26, "Qualification of Electors."

AMOS, on the Constitution, chap. 2, "The Houses of Parliament."

BAGEHOT, the English Constitution, No. 6, "The House of Commons."

BAILEY, on Political Representation, chap. 4, sec. 4, "The Relation of the Electors to the Community."

"BOLINGBROKE'S POLITICAL TRACTS."

BOWYER, on the Constitutional law of England, chap. 5, "The Qualification of Electors and Members."

"BRITISH LIBERTIES," page 164, "Choice of Members of Parliament."

BROUGHAM, on the British Constitution, chap. 6, "Restraints on Voting."

BURGH, Political Disquisitions, book 2, "Parliamentary Representation."

"CANADIAN MONTHLY REVIEW," vol. 2, page 366
"Political Corruption."

"CATHOLIC WORLD, THE," 1883, August, page 709, "Morality in the Public Schools."

CHIPMAN, on Government, book 5, chap. 6, "Right of Suffrage, and Eligibility."

"CONTEMPORARY REVIEW," vol. 23, page 92, "The Clergy in Politics."

COOKE, The History of Party, vol. 2, chap. 8, "The Interference of the Crown and the Landed Gentry with Elections."

COX, Institutions of English Government, book 1, chap. 8, "Parliamentary Corruption."

COX, The British Commonwealth, chap. 13, "The Duties of Representatives."

CREASY, The English Constitution, chap. 17, "Intelligence and Property must have Weight."

DE LOLME, The English Constitution, chaps. 11 and 12, "The Power of the People."

DOUTRE, The Constitution of Canada, "Passim."

"EDINBURGH REVIEW THE," vol. 96, page 452, "Representative Reform."

ELECTION BY LOT, Anonymous Pamphlet, Montreal, 1884, "The Remedy for Political Corruption."

FISCHER, on the English Constitution, chap. 4, "Electoral Corruption."

"FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW," vol. 2, page 439, "The Electoral College;" vol. 3, page 559, "Parliamentary Reform;" vol. 4, page 49, "Representation of Minorities;" vol. 4, page 421, "Principles of Representation;" vol. 4, page 350, "Representative Government;" vol. 4, page 266, "The English House of Commons;" vol. 4, page 560, "The Just Demand of the Working Man."

"FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, THE," vol. 34, page 690, "The Elections of the Future."

"FRASER'S MAGAZINE," vol. 90, page 679, "General Representation," vol. 61, page 188, "Representation in Practice and Theory," vol. 61, page 527, "Representation of Wealth and Intelligence," vol. 20, page 11, "Infidelity in Modern Politics."

"GALAXY MAGAZINE, THE," vol. 4, page 307, "Personal Representation."

GREG, Political Problems, chaps. 9 and 10, "The Parliamentary Career, and the Price We Pay for Self-Government."

GREY, Parliamentary Government, chap. 3, "The Evils and Dangers of Parliamentary Government."

GRIMKE, "The Nature and Tendency of Free Institutions, the Electoral Franchise, and the Election of Public Officers."

HARE, on Representation, Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal, chap. 12, "The Electoral Franchise."

HARLE, A Career in the House of Commons, chaps. 1 and 16, "The Duties of a Member of Parliament."

HARRIS, on Representation, "The Interests Requiring Representation, and the Qualification of Members."

HEARN, The Government of England, chap. 17, "Representation, a Legal Expression of the Popular Will."

HELPS, Thoughts upon Government, chap. 8, "Influence of the Elector over the Elected."

HILDRETH, The Theory of Politics, chap. 6, "Delegated and Representative Authority."

JARVIS, The Republican, essay 10, "The Elective Franchise."

KINNEAR, The Principles of Reform, chap. 1, "Educational Franchise."

LIEBER, Political Ethics, book 5, chap 1, "Voting, and Influencing Electors."

"LITTEL'S LIVING AGE," vol. 45, page 573, "Christianity and Politics."

LORIMER, Political Progress, chaps. 14, 15 and 16.

LORIMER, on Constitutionalism, chaps: 6 and 7, "Suffrage and Tests of Capacity."

MCCRARY, The American Law of Elections, paragraph 432, "Freedom of Elections."

"MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE," vol. 15, page 14, "Bribery at Elections;" vol. 10, Page 192, "Corruption;" vol. 10, page 517, "Appeal to Moral Sense;" vol. 23, page 437, "Hare's Scheme;" vol. 4, page 97, "Mill's Representative Government;" vol. 5, page 295. "Hare's Scheme."

MILL, on Personal Representation, "The Personal Representation of every Voter, and the Full Representation of every Minority."

"MONTH, THE," February, 1883, page 285, "Church and State in England."

"NATIONAL REVIEW," 1883, vol. 1, page 864, "National Education."

"NATIONAL REVIEW," 1883, vol. 2, page 155, "Are Parliamentary Institutions in Danger."

"NATIONAL REVIEW," 1883, vol. 2, page 516, "Will party Government continue to Work."

"NINETEENTH CENTURY, THE," 1882, March, page 378, "The Spirit of Party."

"NORTH BRITISH REVIEW," vol. 28, page 437, "Parliamentary Government;" vol. 35, page 534, "Representative Government;" vol. 6, page 256, "Religion in Relation to Politics."

O'BRIEN, Principles of Government, chap. 5, "Representation of the People, Minorities, Ballot, Qualification, Representation by Taxation or Population, Allowances to Members."

"OVERLAND MONTHLY MAGAZINE," vol. 7, page 497, "Bribery at Elections."

RAMSAY, on the English Constitution, chap. 8, page 150, "The Elective Power of the People."

RAMSAY, The Moralist and the Politician, section 98, "On Elections."

RANSOME, on Constitutional Government, page 203, "The Interference of the Crown and Placemen."

RUSSELL, on the Constitution, chap. 14, "Political Liberty;" chap. 31, "The House of Commons."

"SATURDAY REVIEW," 1883, January, page 101, "Election Expenses."

"SATURDAY REVIEW," 1882, April, page 518, "Parliamentary Elections Bill."

SEAMAN, The American System of Government, chap. 2, sec. 1, "The Evils of Popular Elections in the United States."

SEWELL, Christian Politics, chap. 24, "Popular Representation."

STEPHENS, on the English Constitution, book 2, chap. 11, "The Election of Members of Parliament."

SYME, Representative Government, chap. 6, "Members of Parliament not Representatives, but Trustees."

TAYLOR, The Statesman, chap. 16, "The Ethics of Politics."

THORNTON, The Politician's Creed, vol. 1, sec. 22, "Reform in Parliament."

TODD, Parliamentary Government, introduction, "The Representative System."

TREMENHEERE, The Principles of Government, page 72, "The Virtues of Individuals and Governments are the same."

WHEWELL, The Elements of Morality, vol. 2, chaps. 15, 16, and 17, "The Relation of Church and State."

W. ROTTESLEY, on Government and Legislation, chap. 5, "The Studies of Legislators."

YEOMAN, A Study of Government, chap. 11, "The Rights of Minorities."



n

-

e

d

e

f